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ABSTRACT

A study of women in migration in Third World countries since 1960 reveals that, contrary to assumptions, more women are migrating autonomously from rural to urban areas in an often unsuccessful effort to improve their economic status. The results of the study of migration patterns in Africa, Asia, Central America, South America, and the Middle East show that males generally dominate the migrant population under age 50, while females dominate the population over age 50. Central and South America are exceptions. Women migrate to join their spouse or family; find a spouse; improve their economic situation; or take advantage of better schools, housing, and medical facilities in urban areas. Most women migrants are either under 25 or over 50 years old. The younger women tend to be single; the older women are separated, divorced, or widowed. Women migrants, who have the lowest educational level among migrants, tend to migrate from rural areas to large urban centers where they accept the lowest paying, lowest status jobs. Migration apparently causes greater instability and divorce but improves women's status within the family. Policymakers must restructure social services and urban and rural development policies to respond to the needs of the autonomous female migrant. (SB)

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A Summary of

Women in Migration: A Third World Focus*

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During the past two decades one of the principal demographic facts of life in the Third World has been massive population movement. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, millions of people have voluntarily migrated from one place to another hoping to upgrade their lives. While this migration has taken various forms--rural area to rural area, city to city, country to country--it is apparent that the most frequent form of migration has been from rural and agricultural areas to small and large cities within the same country.

Much of the research on the effects of this migration has been guided by three assumptions. First, that most of those involved in this movement have been families moving together. Second, that those who have migrated individually have done so to rejoin their immediate families or other relatives who had migrated earlier. And third, that the forces impelling men to migrate have been primarily economic, but that those that have impelled women to migrate have been primarily social and domestic.

Recent field studies and extrapolations from available data, however, indicate that migration in the Third World is more complex than these assumptions suggest. There is increasing evidence that a substantial part of the migration, particularly that of young adults and those over fifty, has been autonomous migration. That is, much of the migration involving the young and the old has been migration by men and women moving separately, the women often being single, separated, divorced, or widowed, and often moving with their children. Women are increasingly

migrating in the Third World autonomously and to improve their economic status.

This migration however, has not helped a majority of autonomous women, whether single or heads of households, to ascend the economic ladder. Autonomous female migrants in large urban areas tend to be the poorest of the poor. With little in the way of education or vocational training except in agriculture or handicrafts, and often with few friends or relatives in their new surroundings, they are forced to take whatever work they can find. In most countries this means work as domestic servants, street peddlers, restaurant help, and other low-paying jobs. Many autonomous female migrants in urban areas do not even reach this level, and economic need drives them into sporadic illegal activities.

The situation for women who remain in rural areas after their husbands or other male relatives migrate to other areas in search of jobs is little better than that of their urban counterparts. Although they remain in familiar surroundings, the decline in the number of available male workers compels women to take on numerous additional chores in order to survive. Remittances from absent men frequently may be significant but equally frequently may be sporadic and/or non-existent. Money earned and sent home by the male migrants may be diverted away from their wives and children and used as seen fit by older members of the extended family or clan.

This summary has several purposes. First (and largely through the extrapolation of known population data), it estimates migration trends for selected countries in Africa, Asia, Central America, South America, and the Middle East. The next two sections provide information, based largely

on field studies, about the general characteristics of autonomous women migrants and the economic and social factors that impel them to migrate. A fourth section, also relying heavily on field studies, analyzes the economic status of autonomous female migrants to the cities as well as the economic impact of autonomous male migration on rural women. Briefly described in a fifth section are the impacts of migration -- both that of autonomous male and female migrants and that of migrant families -- on family structure.

This information can have significant implications for policies and programs on migration, social services, and economic development within the Third World. Perhaps the main implication is that policymakers must begin to adjust their policies in recognition of the fact that many of the internal migrants of today are autonomous women in need of education, training, and jobs. Redesigning these policies will be accomplished much more effectively if more complete information about the actual numbers and economic situation of autonomous female migrants is obtained.

MIGRATION PATTERNS BY CONTINENT

Although the generalizations made above about overall migration patterns in the Third World are valid, it should also be recognized that these patterns vary from continent to continent, from area to area, and from country to country.

The following subsections sum up patterns in terms of five year age groups for which migration is dominated either by autonomous females or autonomous males. Certain constraints on the availability and quality of the data led to the use of a ratio measure of the sex-age composition of rural areas as an indicator of rural outmigration. While this measure

suffers from several technical problems, it does yield an indirect measure of migration patterns which makes it possible to estimate trends when other more precise means are either unavailable or the data unreliable. 1/

It is clear that in many Third World countries there is substantial congruence of migration patterns of both sexes between the ages of roughly 30 to 50 years. In other words, there tends to be less imbalance between the sexes in terms of migration during these ages; most of the migration during these ages is therefore assumed to be migration by families as a unit.

Africa

The migration pattern per country for the nine African countries covered by the study is one of proportionately greater internal migration by autonomous men than by similar women in most age groups up until roughly the ages of 45 and after, at which time female migration becomes dominant. (The nine countries: Kenya, Lesotho, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Botswana.) But individual countries, of course, vary from this general trend. In South Africa and Botswana, for example, male migration exceeds female migration in every age category from 10-14 to 60-64 although in absolute terms this male predominance peaks around the age of 30 in South Africa and about the age of 20 in Botswana and then

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1/ Among the most problematical, the Migration Index cannot yield information on the magnitude of migration for each sex; further, it makes the assumption that differences in the female to male ratio is to be attributed to outmigration differentials by sex, rather than possibly return migration. It may be the case, for instance, that married males will return to their rural villages after age 50 while widowed females may leave for urban areas. The sex specific motivations and direction of move may be very different leading to complicated reasons for whatever the sex ratio may be.

declines rapidly in both instances. In Morocco, Libya and Rwanda, though, the migration of women between the ages of 10 and 20 is moderately greater than that of males of similar ages. By age 50, female migration exceeds that of males in all of the countries except South Africa, Botswana, Mauritania (after age 55) and Lesotho, in the last of which there is a balanced sex ratio in rural areas. Only a small part of the increased female predominance in migration after the age of 50 reflects the higher mortality rates of males.

Asia

Migration patterns were studied for nine countries in Asia (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand). While the predominance of either male or female migration in these countries in any age group is much less than that found in Africa, there are some significant variations in the general pattern of male predominance in the younger ages and female predominance in migration after the age of 50. In South Korea, for example, rural female out-migration substantially exceeds that of males between the ages of 10 and 29, but not thereafter. Male migration, on the other hand, continuously exceeds that of female migration in Indonesia between the ages of 10 and 35, while in later years the rural sex ratio deviates slightly in both directions from the expected. In Nepal, male and female migration rates appear to be about equal until age 20, although there are distinct peaks at about ages 30, 40, 50 and 60, with declines at mid-decade age groups.[1/] Female migration after the age of 50 becomes increasingly significant in the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Malaysia. Thailand shows

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1/ Such reported patterns may be a direct result of the tendency in age heaping to report zero ending ages - 10, 20, 30, 40, etc.

a very moderate pattern of predominance in male migration over female, from the earliest ages to the last.

Central America and the Caribbean

For nine countries in this part of the world (Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, and Puerto Rico) the statistics show a heavy dominance of autonomous female migration that increases over all age groups. In Mexico, Panama, Cuba, Costa Rica, and Honduras, female migration dominates in all age groups without exception. In Guatemala and the Dominican Republic female migration exceeds male migration except where male migration slightly surpasses female rates in the 20 to 30 age group and again at 35 to 39 years. Only in Puerto Rico do male migration rates substantially exceed that of women but such differentials reverse themselves at about age 40 in Haiti and age 45 in Puerto Rico. Among older cohorts, females predominate in migration in all these countries.

South America

Apart from Bolivia, which shows a slight male predominance in migration between the ages of 10 and 35, only Guyana and Peru show a slight and short lived dominance in any age group. What is striking is the apparent dominance of female migration over that of males across all countries and among most age groups. The most marked predominance in female migration occurs in Brazil and Chile, and extends from the youngest age groups to the oldest. To a slightly lesser extent, Ecuador and Paraguay also show female dominance through all age groups. By the age of 35, all of these nations show a female predominance in migration that almost steadily grows larger except in the case of Peru.

The Middle East

Migration predominance by sex and by age was studied for Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. Although once again the general pattern indicates male dominance in younger age groups and female dominance in migration at older ages, the patterns are less consistent in the Middle East than in any other part of the Third World except Africa. Perhaps the best example of the "standard" pattern--higher female migration at earlier and later ages, with male predominance between the middle 20's and middle 40s--occurs in Lebanon. In Iran, however, female dominance in migration exists in every age group except that of the early 40s. In Iraq, it is male migration that predominates in every age group up to about 35. In Syria, male migration dominates slightly in the late teens, female migration dominates somewhat more in the early twenties, and then male migration assumes a substantial but gradually declining dominance to the age of about 40. In Turkey, male migration is predominant in virtually every age group until 50, and resumes its predominance around the age of 60.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN MIGRANTS

This section deals with four essential characteristics of women migrants in Third World countries: their age, marital status, level of education, and destinations.

Age

As the preceding section has already suggested, women migrants--particularly autonomous women migrants--are most frequently found in the youngest and oldest age categories. That is, they are either in their late teens or early twenties, or they are fifty and older.

To put it another way, female migrants tend to be more highly represented in the younger or older age groups than male migrants. In Colombia in 1970, for example, 56 percent of all migrants to the capital city of Bogota were women, and female migrants between the ages of 10 and 19 outnumbered male migrants in the same age category by almost two to one. Studies of migration to the capital cities of Kingston, Jamaica, and San Salvador in El Salvador, as well as a study of migration to the Thai capital city of Bangkok, have also shown that more women than men migrate autonomously in the youngest age brackets.

Older women also outnumber older men in the flow of migration in many Third World countries, particularly the flow to capital cities. Individual studies have shown this imbalance in movements to Mexico City, Bogota, Bangkok, and also to Ibadan, which, while not the capital, is the largest city in Nigeria.

Marital Status

On the basis of the limited information available so far, certain generalizations can be made about the marital status of female migrants.

First, young female migrants in their late teens and early twenties--especially those who migrate from rural areas to large cities--are predominantly single. (In moves from rural area to rural area, however, young women are more likely to be married.) There is also some evidence that a fair number of the young single women migrating from rural to urban areas are unmarried heads of households in the city.

A second general statement that can be made with respect to female migrants, especially those to the cities who are in the older age brackets, is that they are more likely than not to be separated, divorced, or widowed.

Very little of the available census data distinguishes between these three categories, but studies of migration in certain Middle East and Latin American countries suggest that separated or divorced women migrate at somewhat younger ages than widows.

Another generalization that can be made is that older women, especially heads of households from rural areas, tend to migrate to large urban areas, just as young and single women do.

One other finding worth noting is that in at least some Latin American countries as well as in Thailand, the proportions of single, separated, and divorced women and men who are migrants outnumber the married resident population in both capital cities and other urban areas.

Educational Level

A number of specific studies--for example, studies conducted in Chile, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Jamaica and Turkey--show that while the educational level of both male and female migrants is low, it is lowest of all for women. The study in India, for instance, showed that 35 percent of the permanent male migrants in that country were illiterate, compared to 58 percent of the permanent female migrants. It also showed that male migrants were much more likely to acquire the ability to read despite a lack of formal education than female migrants were. One possible reason for this, which is discussed in greater detail later, is that female migrants are more likely to have dependent children and are therefore under greater economic pressure to find work. They therefore have less time, energy, and money to seek education. Some of these studies have also revealed that migrant women have substantially less education than women who have always been residents in urban areas. In Kingston, Jamaica,

for example, 50 percent of the women born and still residing there had nine or more years of schooling, compared to 27 percent of the female migrants.

Destination

The available evidence shows that, in general, married migrants of either sex tend to migrate shorter distances than those who are unmarried.

There is, in addition, a fairly large body of studies which suggest that autonomous male migrants travel further during their migration than do autonomous female migrants. A study in Argentina, for instance, showed that 57 percent of the women and only 17 percent of the men moved less than 100 kilometers away from their original home. There are, however, exceptions to the trend. During the 1960s in the Philippines, for example, the distances travelled by autonomous male and female migrants tended to be about equal. In the 1970s, though, women usually migrated greater distances than men. The migration process in El Salvador, Mexico, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil shows that there is a tendency for autonomous female migrants to move first from a rural area to a small town and then to the capital. By and large, this "stepwise" migration tends to be correlated with age. That is, the younger the unattached woman, the more likely she is to migrate directly from a rural area to a large city.

WHY WOMEN MIGRATE

As in the past, many women in Third World countries migrate to join their husbands or to find a spouse. Unlike a majority of the male migrants, who say they move primarily for economic reasons, migrant women often tell those who inquire that marriage or family reasons (including divorce or estrangement from their spouses) are chief motivations for their move. A

survey of two hundred villages in Bangladesh, for example, found that 63 percent of the women migrants stated that they were moving to join their husbands.

To an increasing extent, though, women in Third World countries have been giving a desire for economic improvement as the chief reason for their migration. Some 40 percent of a sample of female migrants to Bangkok, about 50 percent of a sample of female migrants to Kingston, and 81 percent of a smaller sample of women migrants to New Delhi said that their principal reason for migrating was to find employment. Furthermore, studies of female migrants to Gaborne in Botswana and to Lagos, Nigeria suggest that women may tend to be reluctant to admit economic motives for their migration because these motives receive less social approval.

Two other socioeconomic factors closely related to the above also appear to account for female migration, whether autonomous or not, although these are not verbalized by migrating women as often. One is that the desire for employment in urban areas is often the result of diminished opportunities to earn a living in the agricultural sector, due to factors such as increasing agricultural mechanization. Another is that urban areas often seem to offer the promise to rural women and their children of better schools, more modern housing, and access to better medical care and hospitals.

The extent to which all of these factors combine to influence female migrants varies from country to country and from continent to continent. What follows is a brief summary of the relative importance of these factors in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, and Asia.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Early in the 1970s the commonest explanation for female migration from rural to urban areas was that it was due to their displacement from farming as modernization of agriculture replaced women by increasingly skilled male farm labor. Recent studies in Brazil, Colombia, and Honduras, however, suggest that it is incorrect to think that women's role in agriculture in Latin America is small and confined to subsistence agriculture. Data from Brazil, for instance, show that the expansion of small landholdings into larger farms has been accompanied by growing female participation in the wage-earning agricultural labor force. In short, it is no longer accepted as invariably true that rural women are in effect compelled to move to urban areas because they have been displaced from subsistence agricultural work in Latin America.

While this has, no doubt, occurred in various Latin American countries, it seems to be just as true that women--particularly young, divorced, or widowed women--are attracted to urban areas by their social infrastructure (schools, hospitals, etc.) and that they seek work either as domestic employees or as workers in the informal economic sector of the cities. Data from both Chile and Brazil, in fact, strongly suggest that female migrants are much more drawn to urban areas than are men by the apparent advantages--economic, social and educational--that arise from living in the cities. One very probable reason for this is that many of these female migrants have one or more children to support but have no spouse.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Unlike Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa continues to be an area

where most migration is seasonal or for somewhat more extended periods, and where internal migration is largely a male phenomenon. This is mostly the result of policies stemming from the era of colonialism, when agriculture exports became more important, when the economy of barter was replaced by cash transactions, and when compulsory labor laws forced able-bodied African men to migrate in search of work. Nowhere in sub-Saharan Africa is there a greater imbalance between male and female migration than in South Africa, Lesotho, and Botswana, where South African laws still prevent migrant male workers in mining and agriculture from bringing their families with them.

Thus, in much of the lower portion of the African continent, women remain in their native villages, in charge of both subsistence farming and household duties until their husbands return.

It is primarily in West Africa that one finds signs that this traditional pattern is beginning to erode. In cities like Lagos, for example, where migrant women between the ages of 25-29 came to exceed native-born women during the 1970s, female migrants have increasingly been able to find jobs in the domestic and service sectors, and their movement has been facilitated by substantial improvements in roads and public transportation. As West African cities have prospered, more and more male rural migrants have become permanent city residents. They have thus been followed by young rural women looking primarily for work and marriage, and older women simply seeking a way to escape rural poverty as village life gradually becomes less stable and less supportive.

North Africa and the Middle East

Internal migration from rural to urban areas occurs in relatively

small numbers in most of the countries of North Africa and the Middle East, and most of the internal migration that does occur involves married women. In those countries where Islam is the dominant religion--the migration of autonomous women has been restricted. But, even Muslim women have begun to defy conventions in the face of economic opportunities, particularly those offered by Western European countries. The best-known example of this has been the migration of Turkish women to work in Western Europe, principally Germany.

Asia

Historically, Asian women have worked in large numbers in both traditional agriculture and in light industries and crafts. Work in the latter sectors has been available to women in urban areas, particularly in such countries as India and Burma. Since job opportunities exist for women in urban areas, much of the rural to urban migration in Southeast Asia in the last two decades has involved families, with both husband and wife seeking work.

Certain Asian capitals, however, have attracted predominantly autonomous female migrants in recent years. Manila and Bangkok are particularly notable examples of this trend. For many of the rural women migrating to these cities, the chief attractions have been a variety of mostly low-paid occupational opportunities and the presence of other members of their extended family in the cities. In South Korea, on the other hand, the economic attraction has chiefly been work opportunities in light manufacturing industries.

The secondary socioeconomic factors accounting for migration by autonomous women in other areas have not, of course, been lacking in Asia either. There, too, agriculture has become more mechanized and requires more skilled

workers, and the cities have become more attractive because they offer more in the way of social services for autonomous women with or without children. But, it appears that job opportunities for all types of women migrants have been the primary factor in causing women to move from rural to urban areas. The data for Bangladesh and the Philippines, in particular, shows that a substantial number of the female migrants are heads of households.

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON WOMEN

The widespread migration that has occurred in Third World countries over the past two decades has had serious effects on women--both the women who have migrated, whether autonomously or not, and the women who have remained in rural areas after their husbands or other male members of the family have migrated. This section summarizes the evidence on the economic effects of migration on these two groups of women--that is, what they do for a living, how much they get paid for it, and the effect of that work on other aspects of their lives.

Female Migrants to the Cities

Rural women who migrate to the cities, whether autonomously or with their husbands, often are employed in larger numbers than migrant men or than female lifetime residents of the cities. This is probably because they are willing to accept the lowest status, lowest paying jobs. Some means of economic livelihood is particularly necessary for the woman who migrated autonomously from a rural area, whether she is young and without children or older and with children. The economic pressure to work is less on women who have migrated with their husbands, either because husbands have jobs or because, among certain groups in certain countries,

work by married women outside the home is frowned upon. But it is also true in many cases that among married migrants it is the wife rather than the husband who is more likely to find some type of work and therefore becomes the family's economic mainstay, either temporarily or permanently.

Both the internal and inter-regional female migrant to Latin American cities, whether autonomous or not, is likely to be found working as a domestic servant. One survey of migrant workers to the Argentinian capital of Buenos Aires found that 51 percent of the recent migrants coming from Brazil and 62 percent of the recent migrants from other countries had found work as domestics. In Jamaica, close to 50 percent of a group of women migrants who were coming into Kingston began work as domestics. One recent study of Filipino migrants found that the number of female migrants working as domestics reached 90 percent in 1965, and a study of migrant women in the slums of Delhi also showed that they too were largely employed in domestic work. Employment as domestics is clearly the result of the minimal education and lack of other skills among rural female migrants as well as the pressures they confront accept any job available however low paying and low status it may be.

But not all women recent migrants from rural areas work as domestics. A study in Colombia, for example, found that 7.2 percent of the female migrants to Bogota in the early 1970s worked in professional or technical occupations, while a later study found 11.5 percent of the female migrants in white-collar occupations. In West Africa many female migrants have found work as trades-people and investigations in Bangkok and Hong Kong have found that many young and unmarried women from rural areas are recruited to work as unskilled laborers in light manufacturing industries.

For an unknown percentage of rural female migrants to the cities, however, no stable employment is available. Particularly if they have to support a family, these women take up any kind of work, adding to that majority of the urban poor who work in sporadic, unproductive and sometimes even illegal occupations.

Because migrant women find work mostly as domestic employees, unskilled laborers or in informal sector occupations, their incomes tend to be the lowest. A 1975 study of income in Brazil, for example, showed that 41.6 percent of the migrant women in eight metropolitan regions had monthly incomes of between 1 and 100 cruzeiros, compared to 7.5 percent of the male migrants. At the other extreme, 9.8 percent of the male migrants had monthly incomes exceeding 1,001 cruzeiros, compared to 1.9 percent of the migrant women. Studies revealing lower incomes for migrant women than for other groups of workers have also been carried out in Santiago, Kingston, and San Salvador.

Among migrant women, furthermore, it is apparent that women who are heads of households are the worst off of all groups in economic terms. Since their work is often erratic and poorly remunerated, and since they must support not only themselves but dependents as well, life for these women, as one investigator said, "truly is a struggle." One study of female migrant heads of households in Colombia showed that their median family monthly income was $6 (in U.S. dollars). In families where a man was head of the household, in contrast, the median monthly income was $15 (in U.S. dollars). Among households where husband and wife (and sometimes other members of the family found work), the median monthly income was $25 (in U.S. dollars). A study of migrants in Santiago also found that households

headed by migrant women were among the poorest of all households.

There is also some limited evidence that female migrants tend to work longer hours than others in the labor force. A study of workers in Djakarta found that 85 percent of the female migrants worked at their paid jobs more than forty-five hours a week, compared to 69 percent of the male migrants and 59 percent of the nonmigrant urban women.

Women Who Remain in Rural Areas

It has already been mentioned in this summary that the women who migrate autonomously from rural to urban areas are principally younger--that is, up to about age twenty-five--and older, that is, fifty and older. Between the ages of about twenty-five and fifty, however, women in the Third World are more likely to migrate with their husbands or, in many countries, to remain behind in rural areas for many years while their husbands migrate to the cities in search of temporary or long-term work. While male labor migration is worldwide, recognition of this pattern is recent and mainly centered in Sub-saharan Africa and the Middle East.

The dominance of males outmigrating from rural areas is most obvious in South Africa where the law restricts both internal and international movement out of rural areas of the families of workers employed in that nation. It is estimated that in 1970 there were 420,000 migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, and Swaziland working in South Africa, most of them males.

But the pattern of male-only migration is also found elsewhere. In 1969 the census in Kenya showed 525,000 rural households, some 400,000 of which had male heads of households living in urban areas. At one point in the 1960s half of all the male migrants in Ghana were married, but 85

percent of them had migrated alone. More recently, the pattern of male-only migration has become marked in the Middle East--for example, in Yemen, Oman, and Jordan.

Where the pattern is particularly strong, the most obvious effect on the women left behind in rural areas is that they have to work harder in an attempt to make up for the absence of male workers. In some countries--for example, Turkey, where male migrants have apparently been responsible in sending part of their pay to their families back home--women have been able to do a good job of maintaining agricultural activities. But the more likely outcome is diminished agricultural endeavor and increased instability in the agricultural sector. At least two studies have shown that in Africa and Asia, the departure of male villagers has led to reduction in domestic agricultural production and increased dependence on food imported from abroad. Once-cultivated land lies uncultivated, or else labor-intensive crops are abandoned in favor of crops that require less work. Outcomes of one or more of these kinds have been reported by studies of rural life in Kenya, Tanzania, Tonga, Yemen, Jordan, and Oman.

In short, the economic situation for many women left to fend for themselves in rural areas in the Third World tends to be difficult. In some cases, the women are required to take on added responsibilities for agricultural activity for which they have neither the expertise nor the energy; in others, male migrants maintain their control over life in their rural homes by periodic return trips to make major decisions or else by depending on male relatives remaining in the village to do so. Thus the woman fails to benefit in either situation. When subsistence agriculture

fails to produce enough food for a female-headed rural family, and when remittance payments from husbands in the cities dry up, the next step may be migration by the woman and her dependents to urban areas as well.

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON FAMILY STRUCTURE

Information about the effects of rural to urban migration on family structure is limited. Such information as is available, however, suggests that migration--whether it is autonomous male migration, autonomous female migration, or family migration--changes family structure in important ways. Instability and divorce increase but also families become more egalitarian and woman's status within the family may increase.

Some of the principal changes resulting from migration that suggest a restructuring of family structures include an increase in the rate of divorce, an increase in the ages at which people marry, a decrease in fertility, and changes in the division of labor and of sex role norms.

Changes such as these might be expected when men or women migrate autonomously. What may be more surprising is that changes in family structure also appear to become more prevalent even when both husband and wife migrate together with their children.

QUESTIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

The statements made in the earlier parts of this summary suggest that government policymakers whose principal concerns are developing policies for either social services or economic development should pay greater attention to these two questions:

1. Should the provision of social services be restructured in various ways to provide specific kinds of assistance to autonomous female migrants

who have moved from rural to urban areas?

2. Should rural and urban development policies be restructured so as to respond specifically to the migration of women from rural to urban areas?

On the basis of the evidence available up to now, the answer to both questions is "yes." What the evidence collected so far clearly shows is that migrant women from rural areas comprise by far the largest portion of the poorest class in large urban areas, particularly capital cities. The available evidence also shows that one of the primary reasons for autonomous female migration from rural areas to cities is the belief of these women that the cities will provide them with the social services lacking in rural areas: education, health care, better housing, and so forth. Combined with this is the belief that urban areas will also offer them greater employment and income generation opportunities. The evidence to date, however, shows that for most rural women who migrate autonomously, these hopes are unfounded. They do not get the social services they hoped to find in the city, and they do not succeed in obtaining work except in low-paid low-status jobs, at least to any substantial degree.

It is true, of course, that the general conclusions drawn in this summary are based on limited evidence. The reasons for this are obvious, and need only brief mention. First, millions of people have been involved in rural to urban migration in the Third World during the past two decades, and the mere size of that population movement has made the collection of accurate data a difficult task. Second, many Third World countries have--for a variety of reasons--either been unable or reluctant to attempt to collect data themselves on internal migratory movements. And third, data

on women's socioeconomic condition has been particularly weak in most countries.

Additional research and the collection of further data on internal migration are therefore needed so that policies can be shaped to respond to the specific needs of migrant groups. The first need is for more comprehensive efforts to identify female migrants by age, marital status, and number of children (including whether the female migrant is pregnant at the time of migration). Such data would provide a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the extent of autonomous female migration, and the effect of marital status in inducing or deterring migration.

A second need is for more complete information on economic opportunities for women, both in rural areas and in the cities. This would involve, among other things, measurements of the wages paid to women in rural and urban areas in both the formal (white-collar, professional, industrial) sector and the informal (domestic, trading, other services) sectors. In addition, more information is needed to determine the extent of sex discrimination in employment by measuring the probability of employment among migrant women and men, and determining types of employment.

Also needed in particular is an increase in information on seasonal, short-term, and return migration among autonomous male, autonomous female, and family migrants. While more data is needed on virtually every aspect of migration, it is data on this kind of transitory and impermanent migration that is especially difficult to obtain.

A fourth subject on which further data are needed is the effect of rural to urban migration on agriculture. Systematic research is highly desirable to determine the extent to which autonomous male migration from

rural areas has reduced agricultural production and prevented rural development.

Finally, much more attention should be paid by researchers to determining the relationships between the characteristics of rural-to-urban migrants, particularly autonomous female migrants, and the economic structure of the urban areas to which they migrate. Data from Brazil, for example, show that female migrants are more likely to move to areas where urbanization is high but where industrial activity is low. Determining the linkages between migrants and the economic features of their destinations, particularly with respect to women, is necessary to identify more accurately the types of social and economic policies that should be developed.

Additional research of the types listed above is more necessary to establish the extent to which social service and economic development policies should be restructured than to establish whether those policies need restructuring in the first place. The fundamental argument of this paper is that restructuring is necessary, and that what remains to be determined is how to accomplish that restructuring in the most effective way. In other words, it is clear that policymakers should be giving more thought to how changes in policy can help migrant women who have already migrated to the cities, particularly young and unmarried women with children and older women, especially those who are separated, divorced, or widowed.

For young women, including teenagers, attention might be paid in particular to the following:

- Vocational training to develop the skills required to obtain employment in the formal sector.

-Informal training to develop the skills required to earn more income when working in the informal sector.

-Programs to encourage teenagers to remain in school until they have completed their secondary education.

-Programs of remedial education for young women who dropped out of school before completing their elementary or secondary education.

-Training for employment in occupations which have largely or solely been confined to men.

-Educational programs in personal health and family planning.

Policies for older women might emphasize the following:

-Short-term training for the development of skills needed to obtain employment in the formal sector.

-Training in small-scale trade and commercial retail opportunities, combined with or followed by public or private loans that would enable women to establish their own commercial enterprises.

-An expansion of job opportunities generally in both the formal and informal sectors.

-Efforts to develop remunerative types of work that can be performed at home or very close to home.

-Establishment of low-cost health care facilities in areas where large numbers of older women migrants live.

-Leadership programs to maximize the important role that older women often play in informal social networks. These women, for example, could be given managerial training that would allow them to obtain responsible positions in cooperative consumer organizations.

Policies like these are becoming more and more necessary in the Third

World as a result of broad-ranging economic changes and their impact on traditional ways of life in both urban and rural areas. The impacts of these changes on the lives of women and men can no longer be ignored.